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ABSTRACT

Addressing issues of the provincial journalist's role in developing countries, a study interviewed 54 journalists throughout the Philippines during the height of the Philippine Revolution. In unstructured interviews, journalists were asked about their own views on what the role of the press in national development should be, as well as questions regarding their own class origins, allegiances, and opinions about the Philippine Development Communication model. Findings indicated that overall, journalists were an economically depressed intellectual elite who assumed either the active role of power broker and government critic, or the less critical passive role of government propagandist. In addition, analysis showed that the influence of provincial journalists was mitigated by harsh economic and political constraints and that they worked either for or against national development, depending on their own political, economic, and social circumstances. (Nine references are appended.) (MM)

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INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Mass communication and national development are individually complex theoretical domains. Merging them to seek a practical theory addressing the universal role of media in national development presents an even greater theoretical and practical challenge. Yet researchers and policy makers seeking swift and often draconian measures to move Third World societies from what they view as traditional or underdeveloped states, to the attainment of modernity and development, and from relative poverty to relative affluence, have not in recent years been hesitant to confront the problem of the relationship between mass communication and national development, as interacting social institutions and as complex social forces.

In the Philippines researchers and government policy makers have, over the past two decades, proclaimed a new model of development communication, with its genesis first in practical application for the spread of agricultural innovations and secondly through institutionalization as an academic discipline at the University of the Philippines at Los Banos, where a doctoral degree in development communication is now offered. Finally, it was appropriated as a tool of political repression by the Marcos government from 1972 until Marcos' fall from power in 1986.

Adherents of the development communication model, while decrying its political manipulation, suggest that mass

communication can and should be directly linked to development efforts in the Third World. They also contend that journalists should have as their intent and as the primary purpose of their work the promotion of national development objectives (Braid and Valera, 1985; Jamais, 1975; Quebral, 1985).

What then is the intent of journalists with regard to national development goals? Or do they have any intent at all in this regard? It is assumed that if the mass media are agents of national development, then the individual journalists producing the content of that media, must work from some internalized, if not fully articulated conception of the nature of mass media and the nature of development as a process.

This exploratory study serves as a forum for journalists to articulate their views on development and mass communication. It also presents their interpretations of the world of work and of the society in which they perform their journalistic role.

Since my objective was to discover how these journalists view their role in the social change and development process, the study was strengthened by the fact that the data gathering period, September 1985 to February 1986, was one of the most intensely political in Philippine history. Major political and perhaps social changes were rapidly occurring during the course of data collection, which comprised the period of the "Philippine Revolution".

What it also facilitates is a critique of the development communication model as a tool to promote social and political change and as a means to maintain the status quo in the Philippines.

Although I concentrate on the Philippines as a case study in the application of the development communication model, the application in that Asian country has been copied in other Third World nations and we might easily conjecture that the Philippine experience may in some ways be replicated elsewhere to the same ends.

Before presenting the journalist's views regarding their own role in the national development process, I will first present a brief discussion of attempts to formalize development communication in the Philippines and to outline attempts by the Philippine government and other institutions to encourage journalists to practice it. All of the journalists we interviewed had heard of development communication as a new theory of the press being promoted in the Philippines.

THE THEORETICAL AND HISTORICAL BASE OF DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION

The beginning of development communication research efforts in the Philippines was a result of the international Green Revolution and more specifically successes realized in utilizing communication strategies to diffuse miracle rice varieties produced at the International Rice Research Institute (IRRI), located on the University of the Philippines - Los Banos campus. The project has been lauded as one of the successful applications of modernization theory of development. IRRI projects also generated an equally successful communication component upon which the development communication model was constructed. Aspects of modernization theory applied at IRRI include the transfer of foreign technology and capital to nations threatened

by marxist-inspired insurgency (Hagen, 1962; McClelland, 1961; Rostow, 1960).

Modernization is the lynch pin on which development communication as a model has been constructed. The failure of modernization theory to focus on external constraints to national development such as imperialism, control of prices for Third World commodities by Western industrialized nations and inelastic demand for these Third World exports, are among the major criticisms of the theory as a tool to formulate national development policy.

Since development and diffusion of miracle rice varieties at IRRI was so successful, the active government utilization of the mass media in the Philippines in the early 1970s could hardly be faulted. But the results of direct application of the press in other areas of national development, such as political development, proved much more difficult to measure and thus to justify, except that in many cases it was evident that the press was being manipulated as a tool of political repression.

Governments have rarely failed to acknowledge the power of the press and to utilize it to their own ends when deemed necessary or expedient. Development communication, while still in its early stage of development, has in some instances been adopted by non-democratic governments and put into practice to further their own ends and to maintain tyranny over the citizens they should serve (Ogan, 1982; Righter, 1978).

The Philippines provides an important example of an attempt to integrate development communication into the national media

within the nation's overall development policy. Unfortunately, as part of martial law decrees enacted by the Marcos government in 1972. These events in the Philippines also provide an example of the expected negative impacts of imposing such a model upon journalists already oriented and committed to an existing model of journalism such as one based on adherence to notions of objectivity and dedication to maintaining an adversarial or watchdog relationship with government. Before extending the discussion of the rise and fall of the development communication model in the Philippines, its is useful to review popular definitions of the concept.

THE PROBLEM OF DEFINITION OF DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION

Although development communication has been widely disseminated and its terminology adopted to describe policies and practices of mass communication and journalism in many contexts, defining it remains an elusive enterprise. Definition is problematic because it is a very recent topic of study, because of its rapid international diffusion and an accompanying lack of standardized terminology, and because of the negative political attachments it has generated. It was not yet fully developed and articulated as a model for development or for mass communication, when governments around the world hastened to adopt it.

Nora Quebral provides, however, one of the most widely cited definitions:

> Development communication is the art and science of human communication applied to the speedy transformation of a country and the mass of its people from poverty to a dynamic state of economic growth that makes possible greater social equality and the larger fulfillment of the human potential. (Quebral, 1985)

Another definition is provided by Ogan, (1982):

The purpose of development communication is to cover news that reflects social relevance and which underlies a sense of commitment of journalists to economic development in the broadest sense of the term. Clearly the term development communication/journalism has at least two conceptual meanings. When it is used as development support communication, the concept refers to the communication process used only to serve the development goals of the government in power. Development journalism defined to mean the critical examination, evaluation and report of the relevance, enactment and impact of development programs, demands that the mass media be independent of government.

The appropriation of the new model by authoritarian governments has been so pervasive that Ogan notes the trend within the definition of the model itself. We are, however, less concerned here with academic definitions and views than we are with those held by working journalists who either adopt or reject development communication as a tool in their daily work as gatekeepers of news and information. After a brief outline of the methodology employed, we will turn to those views and definitions provided by the journalists themselves.

METHODOLOGY

This study is based on 54 unstructured interviews with provincial journalists at newspapers located throughout the Philippines. The sampling method employed is the snowball technique. This strategy involved simply locating the first newspaper office in a provincial capital, interviewing some or all of the staff members present and then finding out from them where other newspapers were located. I attempted to visit all newspapers in a particular capital and to interview all news staff members available, usually an editor and one or two reporters. Those interviewed include journalists from newspapers

located from the far north of the country (Tuguegarao) to the far south (Zamboanga) and from Tacloban in the far east to Puerto Princesa in the far west. Although the strategy did not result in a truly random sample, it was close in light of the circumstances in the field.

The period during which interviews were conducted was an exceptional one for both the Philippine nation and for Philippine journalism. By the time I began data collection, the Marcos government had abandoned attempts to blatantly control the press. The Aquino assassination and subsequent mass protest movements, as well as the national debate prior to the "Snap Election", all contributed to the sense that significant change was in the offing. Journalists who had suffered through martial law were for the most part unintimidated by a researcher with a tape recorder. They had already experienced the worst sort of repression and intimidation and they were seemingly quite anxious to express themselves to any available ear. The unstructured interview format provided them with a rather unique opportunity to articulate their views. It would have been much more difficult to elicit such open responses if the same interviews were conducted prior to the Aquino assassination in 1983. The effects of a decade of martial law were just waning.

The 54 journalists comprising the sample can be viewed as both active participants in and recorders of the political and social transformation which occurred in the months prior to the exit of President Ferdinand Marcos. Their geographical distribution provides a basis for discussing the events as they were experienced in widely separate regions and islands of the

country.

Although both myself and the interview subjects were aware that oppositionist political forces were building and that a long-entrenched dictatorship was in danger of collapsing, the day-to-day events leading to what appears now to be a rather unique grassroots-initiated and non-violent political change were obscured for these journalists by factors such as: (1) the micro level at which they led their lives and carried out the routines of news production and (2) the nature of the conflicting press models in place, and their influence in defining the unfolding events. And they were obscured for me by: (1) my own limited resources for research and direct observation of political changes; (2) indecision regarding the correct vantage point from which to view social change - at the center of government power in Manila or from scattered villages and provincial capitals in the periphery - or maybe better yet, from Washington, D.C., where perhaps the major decisions were made; (3) methodological considerations regarding focusing the study in the most effective manner; (4) practical considerations regarding our own legal and ethical status as researcher/and observer, and (5) sense of personal dangers existing in some of the areas of the country in which data were collected.

SOCIAL CHANGE FROM THE JOURNALIST'S PERSPECTIVE

An assumption harmonizing with the methodology employed is that a subject (journalist) may be unable to fully articulate or define a particular theory related to social change. But if that theory has subjective meaning within roles he or she assumes or

regarding personal objectives, morals and values ascribed to, then there exists an inherent understanding of the theory, even if the theory is in such a loose form as that provided by the two definitions previously cited.

This theoretical understanding, combined with the practice of producing the news, constitutes a kind of micro-level praxis. This praxis occurs when the journalist performs his daily work roughly adhering to what may be an undefined and even unconscious theory of change. If these objectives, morals and values are generated as part of the socialization experience for the journalist, and if they are reflected back to his audience, then he or she is helping to institutionalize and reinforce them for the audience being served. If they are conducive to change, then we would assume the journalist is helping to promote social change. If on the other hand they are static, then the journalist is helping to maintain the status quo within the society. A composite of these journalistic performances are likely to have wide impacts on the manipulation of the newsgate and on the society journalists are interpreting in their news gathering and production activities..

Journalists may also be unable to, in the lexicon of social science, subjectively define a particular belief they hold or professional behavior they exhibit. Nevertheless, professional behavior and individual definition of a situation, role or concept, can be categorized and combined with those articulated by other journalists to provide a more macro view on the subject of the nature of journalism and its relationship to the social

change process.

Of particular importance here is that the paper does not directly address the issue of whether or not mass communication can induce social change. Since there is little empirical evidence in this regard, despite numerous studies over several decades, we skirt the subject entirely and go right to the practitioner to record his or her views on the question of the media's role in national development.

If mass media does influence social change or assist in advancing the national development process, then the journalists in the field might best understand how this process occurs. We might also postulate that the journalists themselves are key human actors in the equation, as generators of development messages. These journalists are a product of the culture and the society being communicated to. The journalist, especially the provincial journalist, on a daily basis experiences direct response from his or her readers, to the media messages being produced. The production of news and the daily audience response are likely to provide valid insights into the effects of mass communication - insights from the micro or grassroots level of the society that have been neglected in other types of studies on mass media and its role in development.

This assessment might appear to be an endorsement of the tenets of modernization theory holding to the priority of internal factors in the social change process. But it was also found that for many of the journalists interviewed, their political and economic views were highly influenced by information emanating from external sources such as international

news and information generated by international news gathering agencies concentrated in the Western industrialized nations. The education and professionalization of most Philippine journalists is heavily influenced by American models due to the historical dependency of the Philippines upon the United States.

Philippine journalists interviewed, for instance, had little problem discussing social change and their own role in the change process, although they were not asked to define what social change means. Rather their definition, in most cases, emerged from statements about their own role or the role of the media in the change process. Few journalists are able to fully articulate the nature of the structure of the Philippine society in sociological terms. But through their membership in that society and by way of viewing themselves as agents of one strata of that society or another, in their role as journalists, they were able to make statements that could then be useful in determining what the role of journalism might be in the development process, assuming development is viewed from a nature-of-inequality position.

Because of the severe economic and political problems facing the Philippines, it was apparent that social change for most journalists interviewed was synonymous with the political and/or economic development of the nation. Those who tended to be strongly anti-Marcos were likely to see social change as primarily linked to an end to the Marcos government. Those who were pro-Marcos or anti-opposition, tended to see social change from a traditional modernization perspective emphasizing internal

economic development. Other journalists interviewed took positions between these economic and political views regarding the nature of social change.

The furthering of social change was perceived by some Philippine journalists to be part of their daily work; many had a missionary-like zeal in this regard. There was a common view that the professional journalist had an obligation to bring about social change, although views they expressed regarding the best journalistic or theoretical method to accomplish this task were diverse. A fundamental difference between groups of journalists was on the issue of whether political change should precede economic change. Of course, at the time the interviews were conducted, advocating political change was much more likely to physically endanger journalists then was the relatively safe practice of advocating economic development. Adversarial journalists lived much more precarious lives than did those practicing the development communication model. Especially secure and docile were those journalists concentrating on development journalism, while working for the crony press (that loyal to Marcos), as a part-time government employee or while receiving "envelopes" or other forms of bribery for abandoning an adversarial role.

There were also differences expressed related to what social and economic strata of the society the journalist claimed to be serving and what strata he or she thought was primary in initiating social change in the society. Constraints on circulation of newspapers, lack of advertising revenue and illiteracy in English make it difficult for most provincial

newspapers to serve the broad mass of the society, especially the rural sector. Even if a journalist might claim empathy for the lower class, that is not necessarily the class his newspaper was serving. The term "class" is applied here from the journalist's perspective. Although they were not asked to define it, none of those interviewed hesitated to use the term freely. It appeared to be clear in the minds of the Philippine journalists which class was which - the political and economic haves and the havenots.

Of the 54 journalists, 27.8 percent (n=15) said their newspapers were serving primarily the upper class, while 20.4 (n=11) said their newspapers served a combination of the upper and middle class. Only 11.1 percent (n=6) said their newspapers were targeted toward the lower class. The middle class was cited by 5.6 percent (n=3), and 7.4 percent (n=4) said their papers catered to a combination of the middle and lower classes, while 27.8 percent (n=15) said their papers were serving all classes equally.

There was little relationship between the class journalists said was primary in leading the social change process and the class these journalists said their newspapers were actually serving (pearson correlation = 0.177). This reflects the economic and other constraints on provincial newspapers serving the broad mass of the society, especially constraints on serving the rural poor. Because journalists and other mass communication professionals interviewed tended to be highly articulate and their responses richly introspective and insightful, the data are

presented in primarily in narrative form.

THE PROVINCIAL JOURNALIST AS AGENT OF SOCIAL CHANGE

I. As Passive Agent of Social Change:

Within our group of 54 working journalists, there were two dominant views on the role of the journalist in social change. I have termed these views passive and active. The passive view of the role of the newspaper in the change process is evidenced by the following statements made by journalists in from the interview sample. (Note that code numbers are used throughout in order to protect the identities of these journalists):

> A newspaper can help to bring about social change because we can provide information for mass decision making - in this sense we have power. The role of the journalist is to write the news and to balance the stories. (#10)

> The role of the media in social change is to say what is really happening. The newspaper is important to disseminate information about government projects. (#33)

> The newspaper simply reports developments and the audience interprets them. (#42)

> We don't (as journalists) have the power to change society, but the influence to change it....the press will act as a brake against extreme ideologies. (#32)

Within this passive view, we can discern two fundamental subcategories. The first is a somewhat conservative version of the development communication model holding that the press should be a handmaiden of government, merely educating the people regarding government policy and projects. Another view is a variation on the traditional Western model which demands balance, objectivity and an impartial presentation of information, generally in an uncritical format. The reader is thought to have the power to determine what is right or wrong and to form his or

her own opinion on an issue, when presented with two or more sides to an issue.

Also contained within these statements is the view of the journalist as advocate for the poor and powerless but still as agent of the power status quo. The elite are perceived as the legitimate source of power. This elite only has to be informed and it will then remedy major inequalities through economic reforms rather than through structural changes. Acting as a "break against extreme ideologies," helps to reinforce the status quo.

Within the passive view is the contention that the newspaper can somehow "mold public opinion." There is, however, ambiguity as to how that molding process occurs and over what public opinion should be. This is manifested in these statements:

> Our newspaper is developmental in orientation, it's not a fighting community newspaper. But somehow it helps to mold public opinion. (#27)

> The middle class in the Philippines is still low by Western standards. Most media people are not even middle class. The upper class hasn't gotten involved in journalism. The rich have never gotten involved in molding public opinion. So it is people from below the middle class who are molding public opinion through the media. And if I might be so blunt, they're not the right people. It should be those who are educated, who will refuse bribes and fat envelopes. (#31)

> If journalists understand ideology, they should push it. President Marcos' ideology is not well understood. The Philippine ideology should emerge from the culture and the heritage of the people, journalists should be aware of the societal values and norms. They should be able to understand and to articulate the ideology. (#28)

II. The Provincial Journalist As Active Agent of Change:

The active view of the role of journalism in the social

change process reflects stronger convictions regarding that role, although insights regarding the process through which the media influence change are no more insightful than those provided by the passive view. Sample statements categorized as the "active view" include:

Newspapers are a direct cause of social change. Social change usually comes from below but at the present time it is coming from above. But the mass base is struggling for social change. The provincial journalist must represent the mass base. (#8)

Newspapers can definitely affect change in the society - they are more permanent, more vivid - so they have a greater impact than radio. Journalists should try to influence the government, not vice versa. Journalists are to a certain extent responsible enough to determine how information is used. (#18)

As a journalist, I have the power to change society, to influence change. It is a responsibility to initiate change through education. (#40)

If you can change the world, why not? (#20)

THE VIEW THAT MEDIA HAVE LITTLE IMPACT ON DEVELOPMENT

The view that newspapers have little influence in the change process was not widely expressed. It is evident that it is very difficult for journalists to accept that they may make little impact on their audience or that their work has little meaning in the context of changing society or eliminating injustices:

Local newspapers are not powerful, people don't trust them. Only ten percent of the community read the newspapers, because of their low quality...including mine. I want to improve it, I just don't know how to do so. (#26)

The newspaper has a minor role in bringing about change because of its limited readership. (#43)

The loss of their power to directly affect the society was widely lamented by the journalists, many of whom had been either

jailed or put out of work by government decree. It reflects the recent historical circumstances in the country, especially the impact upon the Philippine mass media of martial law decrees beginning in 1972, when the government closed down virtually every newspaper in the country. Prior to the declaration of martial law, journalists were unrestrained and free to write as they pleased, no matter how critical they were of the government, its policies or projects. These sentiments were echoed by several journalists:

> I think the press has power to change their conditions (the lower class) but aren't doing it now. The media has gained such power that we are no longer the fourth estate, we are partners of government, which is a very wrong concept, as we were taught journalism. We were co-opted during martial law. Where can you find a media which has willingly become a co-partner of the government? We didn't even get rewarded for collaboration, like the Japanese rewarded collaborators. Our role as the Fourth Estate is to be the enemy of the government, the media should always be anti-government, that is the balancing of power. (#28)

> I can't say what power journalists have, especially during these difficult times because the media has been manipulated by government to distract other sectors of media who are militant, so apparently there is a check and balance system between the two groups of media - the apologists and the so-called alternative press. (#44)

There is little indication that journalists in our sample exhibit a consensus regarding their role in social change or regarding the nature of social change. What emerges is an optimism regarding the potential of the media, but at the same time there is evidence that the journalists themselves feel they are victims of political circumstances that are beyond their control, even though at the time they were voicing these views the nation was in experiencing intense political changes.

EMPATHY AND CLASS ALLIANCE AMONG JOURNALISTS

We might assume that the social strata the journalist exhibits the greatest empathy for is also the class for which he will serve most effectively as advocate in a professional role. We would also assume that the class origin of the journalist has some importance regarding the ability to serve as an agent of change on behalf of the lower social and economic strata of the society.

Those journalists who believed that social change comes from the upper strata of the society made the following statements:

> Social change comes first from the upper level. They have the means, they have the logistics and they have the better brains to do it. The also have better understanding. People at the lower level can only follow examples. Rural movements are influenced by people at the top. More intelligent people must help them (the rural poor) to understand the plight they are in. Some at the top care about the people at the bottom. (#12)

> The upper class leads change. But we must notify the lower class of what is happening in the community.(#30)

> The elites should bring social change. The barrio people are very simplistic, they cannot analyze issues. There is just black and white to the barrio people. (#50)

Only one journalist in our sample provided a dependency view of social change, saying that it has external origins:

> Social change comes from above because the upper classes are the ones running the government. But the decision to have the snap election (that toppled Marcos) comes from the Americans, from President Reagan. (#9)

The official "Philippine ideology," as created and defined by President Marcos (1974), holds that revolution in the Philippines will originate with the middle class. Journalists mentioning the middle class as the source of social change tended to work for newspapers loyal to Marcos. Those journalists proposing that social change comes from the middle or a

combination of the upper and middle stratas of society said:

Social change here, as in most countries, tends to come from the middle class. The government should take the initiative in revolution. (he added, however, that he doesn't fully support the Marcos ideology). (#39)

The middle class determines which way the society is going, we cater to that class. (#45)

The middle class is the most important in changing the society. There is not much difference between the middle and the upper class. The middle class in the Philippines consists of the professionals and the landed ones. There are not enough resources to reach the lower class, but if we (as journalists) can hit community leaders, then we can influence - we can steer change. (#29)

Journalists claiming that social change comes mainly from the lower class made these statements:

The rural movement does not exist in a vacuum. Little by little the people are realizing that it is not only the problems they face day to day, it is the whole system that is a problem. They are learning to make new responses to problems that face them. (#24)

The masses are most effective in bringing about change in the society. They always want change, while the elite opts for the status quo (laughs). Our readers are mostly from the grassroots. Because of the colonial mentality of our people, the upper class prefers to read national newspapers based in Manila, because they consume the products advertised in those newspapers. (#44)

Those believing that social change is produced by the combined effort of all classes in the society said:

Both the elite and the masses have their own role in developing the nation. The masses voice what they want and the elite will listen. The elites have the power. (#22)

All classes should work together to bring about change in the society. One class alone cannot do it. (#46)

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS ON THE ROLE OF THE JOURNALIST IN THE

DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

In carrying out this exploratory study, I found that the role of the journalist in the Third World is much more complex and ambiguous than most mass communication literature indicates. It is certainly more complex and less bounded than is supposed by the development communication model I have discussed.

Important insights include that: (1) the provincial journalist in the Third World has multiple roles in the development or underdevelopment process, beyond mere control of the newsgate; (2) that he or she is highly mobile between economic strata, mediating between the rich and the poor, the powerful and the powerless; (3) that the provincial journalist is often occupationally transitory, journalism is a stepping-stone or a sideline; (4) that motives for entering the profession are highly complex and variable, and (5) that the political and social legitimation process carried out by journalists may be their primary contribution to social change and development or to reinforcing the status quo.

In the provincial Philippines there are variations and combinations of: aspirants to the role of professional journalist; part-time journalists; broadcasters and lawyers dabbling in journalism; government and political hacks; mercenary journalists; legal notice profiteers and other aberrations of the role of Western model of professional journalist as defined above.

The actual achievement of journalistic professionalism in the periphery was found to be constrained by a multitude of factors. These include: poor economic circumstances, political

repression, and social and cultural constraints on the development of a press system which would promote and remain in harmony with journalistic professionalism and journalistic codes of ethics. These same constraints restrict all forms of journalism, including a development-oriented model.

What I found in newspaper offices throughout the Philippines was an economically depressed intellectual elite who assumed the often precarious role of power broker and government critic, or a less critical pariah role as government propagandist and hack. Between these two extremes were journalists who alternated between being courageous critics and spineless defenders of the status quo.

At the most fundamental level of analysis of journalism as a form of mass communication, the question is raised whether the provincial journalists interviewed fit the traditional journalistic model. Are they really journalists? I will argue that in most respects they are and that the primary barrier to fulfilling their own vision of the professional role is an economic one. These economic limitations further hinder the Philippine journalist from fully assuming the role outlined under the social responsibility model of the press - the ideal of Western journalism.

This ideal is to a large extent predicated upon the economic and subsequent political independence of the newspaper itself. Removing these two related supports is likely to limit the independence and professionalism of the Third World journalist, at least with regard to assuming a critically constructive

journalistic role. We are not speaking of absolutes here. Few newspapers or journalists are independent of the dominant political forces within their communities. But advertising revenues and other sources of income allow a higher degree of political and economic independence in developed nations than most provincial newspapers in the Third World are likely to enjoy.

Since the primary objective of most provincial newspaper publishers is to profit from legal advertising and secondarily, to promote other business interests or to push a particular political agenda, the intent to communicate balanced information and news is not always primary, despite the journalistic ideals all articulated support for. Again, these objectives may not be so different from the real objectives of publishers in more developed Western nations. The difference is in the degree that economic circumstances prevent them from balancing practical and immediate goals with those higher goals promoted by the social responsibility model they are likely to endorse.

Those provincial journalists expressing the intent of communicating to large audiences were often writing in a language (usually English) that the great mass of potential readers did not understand. Thus most were not engaging in mass communication in the sense that their messages were intentional or that what they wrote was actually reaching a mass audience. Many of those interviewed admitted they were communicating primarily to the elite through provincial newspapers with circulations limited to around 1,000 copies per week.

Yet, to simply state my own assumptions of what the role of

a professional journalist is and then to compare those journalists interviewed to this pre-existing model, would serve little purpose and would constitute a failure to recognize that provincial journalists working for marginal newspapers, with little or no direct compensation, perform important but as yet undefined functions in the political and social structures of the communities in which they live and work. As a group engaged in the unique form of journalism I observed, they would appear to contribute in less obvious ways to the development or continued underdevelopment of the nation. In this sense they are development journalists, but not within the narrow definitions provided earlier in this study. Perhaps then it would be more beneficial to observe effects at a micro or community level rather than at the national one.

Furthermore, it is evident that a journalist can work as much against development as for it, and that the journalist can serve as an agent of underdevelopment either purposely or through error in judgment. A journalist may have the intent to work to promote national development but elect to support a misguided development approach. Loyalty to the Marcos government and unequivocal support for its policies is a common example from this study.

Without the benefits of economic and physical security enjoyed by professional journalists working for the private media in more developed nations, provincial journalists in the Philippines and other Third World nations are more likely to remain mere aspirants to the role of professional and independent

journalist, than they are to fully assume that role. The ambiguity of the role they do assume as provincial journalists is something that must be addressed before one proceeds to speculate on the effectiveness of the provincial journalist as a development agent.

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